

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SAA-01 SAS-02 SES-02 NRC-07  
SOE-02 AID-05 CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00 DODE-00  
EB-08 DOE-15 H-02 INR-10 INT-05 L-03 NSAE-00  
NSC-05 OMB-01 PM-05 ICA-20 OES-09 SP-02 SS-15  
STR-07 TRSE-00 ACDA-12 HA-05 EA-12 AF-10 IO-14  
CEQ-01 /204 W

-----034235 011727Z /44

R 011210Z AUG 78  
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3131  
INFO AMCONSUL BOMBAY  
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMCONSUL MADRAS  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 NEW DELHI 11697

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: MNUC IN  
SUBJECT: TEXT OF DESAI'S NUCLEAR STATEMENT

1. THERE FOLLOWS THE COMPLETE TEXT OF PRIME  
MINISTER DESAI'S STATEMENT IN THE RAJYA SABHA  
ON INDIA'S NUCLEAR POLICY (SEPTTEL). PARAGRAPH  
THREE IS EXCERPTS FROM THE PRIME MINISTER'S  
RESPONSE TO THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE THAT  
FOLLOWED.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

MY HONOURABLE FRIENDS HAVE RAISED TWO  
QUESTIONS TO WHICH THEY WISH TO CALL MY ATTENTION.  
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THE FIRST QUESTION RELATES TO MY STATEMENT THAT INDIA  
WOULD NOT UNDERTAKE NUCLEAR EXPLOSION EVEN FOR  
PEACEFUL PURPOSES AND THE SECOND QUESTION REFERS TO  
THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY ME ON THE POKHARAN EXPLOSION  
IN 4974.

LET ME DEAL WITH THE FIRST QUESTION. THE

HOUSE MUST APPRECIATE THAT SCIENCE WHICH EXISTS TO SERVE MANKIND HAS MOVED A LONG WAY SINCE THE FIRST EXPLOSION OF ATOMIC BOMB AT HIROSHIMA, WHICH IN ITSELF HAD AWAKENED THE CONSCIENCE OF THE ENTIRE WORLD TO THE IMMENSE POTENTIALITY OF MASS DESTRUCTION BY THE USE OF NUCLEAR SCIENCE FOR MILITARY PURPOSES. THAT AWAKENING HAS GROWN AND NOT DECLINED WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME AND INCREASED IN QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE TERMS IN REGARD TO THE ARSENAL OF DESTRUCTIVE ATOMIC WEAPONS BY THE SUPER POWERS. THE WORLD HAS PROGRESSIVELY REALISED MORE AND MORE THAT THIS RACE IN MUTUALLY DESTRUCTIVE WEAPONS HAS IN IT THE GERMS OF EXTERMINATION OF ALL LIFE ON THIS PLANET OF THE EARTH ITSELF. THE SO-CALLED NUCLEAR DETERRENT HAS NOT LED TO ANY REDUCTION IN THIS ARSENAL, IN FACT IT HAS LED TO ACCUMULATION OF THIS WEAPONRY PARTICULARLY AMONG THE TWO LEADING POWERS OF THE WORLD, USA AND USSR. IT IS A TRIBUTE TO THIS AWAKENING THAT THESE TWO POWERS HAVE THEMSELVES HOWN AN INCREASING AWARENESS OF THESE DANGERS AND HAVE ADDRESSED THEMSELVES TO THE TASK OF REDUCING THE EXTENT OF THAT DANGER AND REALISE THE NECESSITY OF ELIMINATING SUCH WEAPONRY ALTOGETHER.

THE QUESTION OF NUCLEAR SCIENCE, IN THE CONTENT OF THIS DEVELOPMENT, HAS THEREFORE BECOME UNCLASSIFIED

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NOT MERELY A SCIENTIFIC PROBLEM BUT A POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM ALSO. I AM SURE THAT THIS HOUSE WILL APPRECIATE THE FACT THAT IS IS NO LONGER FOR THE SCIENTISTS TO CALL THE TUNE IN THAT FIELD. THE ATOMIC ENERGY HAS BEEN UTILISED MORE FOR MILITARY THAN FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES BOTH FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF INVESTMENT AND RESEARCH. THE HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR RESEARCH HAS SHOWN THAT THE TEMPTATION TO SWITCH OVER FROM PEACEFUL TO NON-PEACEFUL PURPOSES HAS PROVED DIFFICULT TO RESIST ON THE PART OF THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH CONSIDER IT A MATTER OF POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC ADVANTAGE AND RESORT TO EXPLOSIONS OSTENSIBLY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES BUT IN REALITY FOR MILITARY TECHNOLOGY. DURING THE LAST 33 YEARS THE NUMBER OF SUCH POWERS HAS GROWN FROM ONE, NAMELY USA TO SEVEN I.E., USA, USSR, UK, FRANCE AND CHINA WITH ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA AMONG THE SUSPECTS.

WE HAVE HITHERTO CONCENTRATED ALMOST WHOLLY ON PURSUIT OF NUCLEAR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. I SAY ALMOST WHOLLY IN VIEW OF

THE EXPLOSION AT POKHARAN IN 1974 WHICH HAS BEEN  
TAKEN BY THE WORLD AT LARGE AS A DEPARTURE FROM  
THAT POLICY AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH WE  
EXPERIENCE EVERY TIME WE ENTER INTO ANY COOPERATION  
AND COLLABORATION ARRANGEMENT FOR THE FULFILMENT OF  
OUR NEED OF FUEL AND EQUIPMENT FOR THE CONDUCT OF  
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT. AT EVERY STEP WE HAVE TO  
FACE DOUBTS AND SUSPICIONS OF OUR INTENTIONS IN ALL  
THE COUNTRIES FROM WHICH WE HAVE TO IMPORT THESE,  
WITHOUT WHICH OUR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT HAVE BEEN  
SUFFERING AND WILL CONTINUE TO SUFFER A SET BACK.  
AT THE SAME TIME EVEN THE USA AND USSR HAVE  
BEEN REALISING THE DANGERS OF EXPLOSIONS. THEY  
HAVE ALREADY ENTERED INTO A TREATY TO ABANDON  
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OVERGROUND TESTS. THEY ARE NEGOTIATING ABOUT THE  
COMPREHENSIVE BANNING OF THE TESTS ALTOGETHER INCLUDING  
PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSION FOR AT LEAST 3 OR 5 YEARS.

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SPECIAL SESSION OF UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON  
DISARMAMENT HAS CALLED FOR THE EXPEDITIOUS CONCLUSION  
OF THE COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY. THE QUESTION OF  
PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS HAS CEASED TO REMAIN A  
NATIONAL ISSUE ONLY; IT HAS BECOME AN ISSUE FOR  
COLLECTIVE DELIBERATIONS OF THE WORLD POWERS, BIG OR  
SMALL, SUPER OR OTHERWISE.

AS REGARDS SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY OF EXPLOSIONS,  
I HAVE ALREADY STATED THAT THE MAIN COUNTRIES IN WHICH  
NUCLEAR RESEARCH IS TAKING PLACE ARE MOVING AWAY FROM  
SUCH EXPLOSIONS EXCEPT FOR MILITARY PURPOSES. APART  
FROM THIS I CANNOT THINK OF ANY USE OF SUCH EXPLOSIONS  
WHICH CANNOT BE OBTAINED BY OTHER MEANS EXCEPT THAT  
THE ALTERNATIVES WOULD BE MORE EXPENSIVE AND TIME-  
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CONSUMING. SHOULD WE SUBJECT THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE IN  
THE VICINITY TO HAZARDS WHICH ARE ASSOCIATED WITH  
NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS MERELY TO SAVE TIME AND MONEY?  
AS REGARDS THE SCIENTIFIC VALUE OF SUCH EXPLOSIONS  
FROM MY KNOWLEDGE OF THE RESULT OF POKHARAN EXPLOSION  
I FIND THAT THE 'EXPERIMENT' IF IT CAN BE CALLED THAT  
MERELY CONFIRMED CERTAIN THEORETICAL KNOWLEDGE AND  
GAVE SOME INFORMATION OF THE BEHAVIOUR OF RADIOACTIVITY  
AND NEIGHBOURING ROCKS AND SHELLS WHICH WAS CONSIDERED  
TO BE OF VALUE. I REGARD THESE RESULTS INADEQUATE  
COMPENSATION FOR THE JOLT TO INTERNATIONAL OPINION  
WHICH IT HAS IMPORTED AND THE CONSEQUENCES IT HAS  
HAD ON OUR PEACEFUL PURSUIT OF NUCLEAR RESEARCH AND  
DEVELOPMENT. IT IS TRUE THAT IN THIS DEVELOPMENT  
WE HAVE TAKEN A UNILATERAL DECISION TO ABJURE  
EXPLOSIONS EVEN FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. WE NOW STAND  
JUSTIFIED BY THE DEVELOPING CONSCIENCE OF THE WHOLE  
WORLD ON IT. IT SEEMS THAT FRANCE AND CHINA HAVE  
CHOSEN TO FOLLOW THEIR OWN INDEPENDENT LINE. SO FAR  
AS FRANCE IS CONCERNED IT HAS BEEN ADAPTING ITSELF TO  
THE VOICE OF THAT CONSCIENCE. IT HAS ACCEPTED CERTAIN  
SAFEGUARDS IN THE EXERCISE OF ITS OWN INDIVIDUAL  
JUDGEMENT. AS FAR AS CHINA IT IS MY FIRM CONVICTION  
THAT ONE DAY IT WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BEND BEFORE THE  
JUDGMENT OF THE WORLD AND RESPOND TO THE UNIVERSAL  
DEMAND FOR A HALT TO THE BUILD UP OF NUCLEAR ARSENAL  
AND ITS REDUCTION WITH A VIEW TO EVENTUAL ELIMINATION.

SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERIES LIKE GUNPOWDER,

AUTOMOBILE, ELECTRICITY, AIRCRAFT, ELECTRONICS AND  
ATOMIC ENERGY HAVE USES BOTH PEACEFUL AND OTHERWISE.  
OF THESE THE NUCLEAR ENERGY CAN BE THE MOST DESTRUCTIVE  
OF MANKIND AND EVEN THE WORLD. THE WORLD IS GETTING  
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INCREASINGLY ALERT TO THAT DANGER. IT IS INCUMBENT  
ON ALL THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD TO SAVE THE WORLD  
FROM THAT CATASTROPHE WHICH HAS CAST ITS DARK SHADOW  
OVER IT. WE HAVE TO DO SO IN TIME AND MY SUBMISSION  
IS THAT THAT TIME IS HERE AND NOW.

SO FAR AS INDIA IS CONCERNED, AS A NATION  
WE HAVE BEEN TRADITIONALLY DEVOTED TO PEACE. THROUGHOUT  
HISTORY WE HAVE STOOD FOR CERTAIN SPIRITUAL AND MORAL  
VALUES IN THE LIGHT OF WHICH WE DEVELOPED OUR OWN LINES  
OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES. IF WE STAND FOR  
THOSE VALUES AND IF WE TRANSLATE INTO ACTUAL POLICIES  
THAT PASSION FOR PEACE AND LOVE OF HUMANITY FOR WHICH  
THE WORLD KNOWS US AND IF WE ARE SINCERE ABOUT  
DISARMAMENT AND UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD, THERE IS NO  
ALTERNATIVE FOR US BUT TO STAND FOR EXERCISING THE  
DEMON OF USE OF THE NUCLEAR SCIENCE FOR NON-PEACEFUL  
PURPOSES. TO MY MIND THE ONLY WAY TO SECURE THIS  
OBJECTIVE IS BY WAY OF OUTLAWING ALL ATOMIC TESTS  
OR EXPLOSIONS. THIS IS THE OBJECTIVE TO WHICH THE  
WORLD IS MOVING AND THIS IS THE GOAL WHICH WE HAVE  
SET FOR OURSELVES. THIS IS THE FIELD IN WHICH WE  
HAVE TO SET AN EXAMPLE.

I SHALL NOW COME TO THE SECOND PROBLEM  
NAMELY MY VIEWS ON THE NUCLEAR EXPLOSION AT POKHARAN  
IN 1974. I KNOW FROM MY DISCUSSIONS WITH HEADS OF  
FOREIGN COUNTRIES HOW MUCH MISUNDERSTANDING THAT  
EXPLOSION HAS CREATED IN THEIR ASSESSMENT OF OUR  
DEVOTION TO PURSUIT OF THIS GREAT SCIENTIFIC DISCOVERY  
OF MODERN TIMES. NOR AM I CONVINCED THAT WE HAVE  
GAINED INFORMATION OF SCIENTIFIC VALUE FOR PEACEFUL  
USE WHICH WOULD JUSTIFY THE RISK OF SUCH MISUNDERSTANDING  
AND CONSEQUENTIAL EMBARRASSMENT IN THE INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONSHIP ON THIS ISSUE. SCIENTISTS NOW REALISE  
WHAT HANDICAPS THEY ARE EXPERIENCING IN CARRYING ON  
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WITH THEIR RESEARCH ACTIVITIES. THE WAY IT WAS CARRIED  
OUT IN SECRET EXPOSED US TO THE ACCUSATIONS MADE

AGAINST US BOTH INTERNALLY AND EXTERNALLY. THE MANNER  
IN WHICH WE INDULGED IN SELF PRAISE AFTER THE EXPLOSION  
AND IT WAS EXPLOITED FOR THE SAKE OF PRESTIGE BOTH  
INTERNALLY AND EXTERNALLY AND IN THE LIGHT OF THE  
SCIENTIFIC VALUE AND NECESSITY OF THE RESULTS ACHIEVED,  
THERE IS ONLY ONE CONCLUSION WHICH CAN BE REACHED AND  
IT IS THAT THE CONSIDERATIONS WERE MORE POLITICAL  
THAN SCIENTIFIC. I FEEL I AM JUSTIFIED IN THINKING  
THAT IT WAS DONE MORE FOR POLITICAL THAN FOR  
SCIENTIFIC GAINS. AT THE SAME TIME I SHOULD LIKE TO  
MAKE IT CLEAR THAT I HAVE MAINTAINED AND SAID SO TO  
FOREIGN DIGNITARIES WITH WHOM I HAVE DISCUSSED THE  
MATTER THAT I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT POKHARAN EXPLOSION  
WAS DIRECTED TOWARDS A SWITCH OVER TO MILITARY PURPOSE.

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I HAVE DELIBERATELY DECIDED TO EXPLAIN THE  
POINTS WHICH UNDERLINE THIS CALLING ATTENTION MATTER  
IN ORDER TO ENABLE THE HOUSE TO VIEW IT IN THE  
BROADER PERSPECTIVE OF OUR TRADITIONS, OUR SPIRITUAL  
AND MORAL VALUES AND OUR PASSION FOR PEACE, OUR LOVE

FOR HUMANITY, THE CHILDREN OF MOTHER EARTH OF WHICH WE ARE AN UNDISSOLUBLE CONSTITUENT ELEMENT. WE HAVE TO ATTEMPT TO SAVE THE WORLD FROM THE HOLOCAUST OF A MUCH GREATER NUCLEAR EXPLOSION THAN THE EXPLOSION AT POKHARAN. LET THE HOUSE KEEP BEFORE IT THIS WIDER CONCEPT IN DEALING WITH OUR POLICY IN REGARD TO EXPLOSIONS FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. END TEXT.

3. THERE FOLLOWS EXCERPTS FROM THE PRIME MINISTER'S RESPONSE TO HIS CRITICS IN THE AFTERNOON SESSION.  
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ON PRESSURES AND BLASTS

BEGIN QUOTE:... THERE IS NO QUESTION OF ANY PRESSURE BEING BROUGHT UPON US. THAT IS WHY WE HAVE DECIDED ON THIS POLICY. AND IT IS NOT THAT I HAD DECLARED THIS POLICY IN THE USA OR ANYWHERE ELSE. I DECIDED THIS HERE. AND WHY HAVE I SAID IT? WE HAVE BEEN ALL THE WHILE ADVOCATING AND PRESSING FOR GIVING UP ALL EXPLOSIONS, NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS AND USE OF ATOMIC ENERGY FOR PEACE. THAT IS WHAT WE ARE SAYING. THAT IS WHAT WE HAVE BEEN DOING ALL THE WHILE. AND IF WE OURSELVES DO NOT FOLLOW IT, WHAT RIGHT HAVE WE TO TELL OTHER PEOPLE? THIS IS WHY WE HAVE DECIDED ON THIS; NOT OTHERWISE. THEN AGAIN, NO GREAT PURPOSE IS SERVED BY THIS. I AM NOT BLOWING HOT AND COLD. I AM NOT GIVING DIFFERENT POLICIES. WHEN I SAID THAT I AM AGAINST ALL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS, PEACEFUL OR OTHERWISE, I HAVE MAINTAINED IT. BUT WHEN I SAID THAT IF ANYWHERE IT IS TO BE USEFUL FOR MINING SOMETHING, IF THIS ENERGY CAN BE UTILISED FOR THAT PURPOSE, WITHOUT CREATING POLLUTION AND ENVIRONMENTAL DIFFICULTIES AND HAZARDS FOR OTHER PEOPLE, I CAN USE IT. IT IS DIFFERENT FROM A NUCLEAR EXPLOSION ENTIRELY. I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER IT SHOULD BE USED AT ALL LIKE THAT. I DO NOT KNOW WHETHER IT CAN BE USED LIKE THAT AT ALL. BUT IF I AM ASSURED THAT WAY, THEN IT MAY BE USED. IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF ANYBODY ELSE DOING THAT. IT IS VERY CLEAR. IT IS NOT GOING TO BE USED FOR ANY PURPOSE OF FINDING OUT SOME WEAPONRY OR SOMETHING ELSE. WE ARE NOT GOING TO DO IT AT ALL. AND THE EXPLOSION THAT WAS MADE AT POKHARAN HAS NOT GIVEN US ANY PARTICULAR NEW KNOWLEDGE FOR USING NUCLEAR ENERGY FOR ANY OTHER PEACEFUL  
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PURPOSE. IF IT HAD DONE THAT, I COULD HAVE UNDERSTOOD.  
I HAVE STILL TO LEARN IT. I AM GOING ABOUT IT.  
(INTERRUPTION) BUT IT DOES CREATE OTHER HAZARDS  
AND THOSE HAZARDS WE SHOULD NOT CREATE. THAT IS  
THE MAIN CONSIDERATION IN THIS MATTER. WE ARE  
WEDDED TO THE USE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY FOR PEACEFUL  
PURPOSES AND WE ARE USING IT. AND WE ARE GOING ON  
WITH IT, WHATEVER ANY COUNTRY MIGHT SAY; WHETHER THEY  
HELP US OR DO NOT HELP US, THAT IS NOT A MATTER OF  
STOPPING US FROM USING THIS NUCLEAR ENERGY FOR OUR  
PURPOSE. WE ARE HAVING ELECTRIC ENERGY AND WE ARE  
USING IT FOR THAT PURPOSE. THAT DID NOT REQUIRE ANY  
EXPLOSION....I DO NOT KNOW WHERE EXPLOSION IS  
REQUIRED FOR USING IT FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. FOR  
MINING OR SUCH OTHER PURPOSES, IF IT IS NECESSARY  
THAT MINING WILL BE FURTHERED BY IT, WILL BE BENEFITED  
BY IT, IF IT IS ECONOMICAL AND IF THERE ARE NO OTHER  
HAZARDS IN USING THAT, WE CAN CERTAINLY USE IT. THAT  
IS WHAT I SAID...END QUOTE.

ON NUCLEAR TESTING

BEGIN QUOTE:... WE ARE PRESSING BOTH THE USA AND  
THE USSR AND OTHERS TO GIVE UP ALL EXPLOSIONS FOR  
PEACEFUL OR FOR OTHER PURPOSES. THEY ARE GOING TO  
SIGN A TREATY FOR THAT PURPOSE FOR THREE OR FIVE  
YEARS. PRACTICALLY THEY ARE NOW COMING TO SOME  
CONCLUSION ON THAT. THEY ARE ALSO SIGNING A TREATY  
BANNING EXPLOSION IN THE AIR OR OVERGROUND. THAT  
THEY HAVE DONE ALREADY. THIS IS THE NEXT STEP THEY  
ARE GOING TO TAKE. WE ARE PRESSING THEM FOR IT.  
IF WE SUCCESSFULLY TRY TO PRESS THEM FOR IT, THEN WE  
CANNOT DO IT WHEN WE ASK THEM NOT TO DO IT. HOW  
CAN WE DO THAT? IF I AM CONVINCED THAT IT IS NECESSARY  
FOR THE ADVANCE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES,  
I CAN CONSIDER IT. BUT I DO NOT THINK I AM CONVINCED  
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IT IS NECESSARY FOR THAT PURPOSE AT ALL. ON THE  
CONTRARY IT HAS CREATED HURDLES IN OUR WAY OF PROCEEDING  
TO THE USE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES.  
THAT IS WHY I SAID THAT THAT EXPERIMENT HAS COST US  
DEARLY AND HAS NOT HELPED US MUCH. ON THE CONTRARY  
IT HAS CREATED A HANDICAP. ... END QUOTE.  
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## Message Attributes

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**From:** NEW DELHI  
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**TAGS:** MNUC, IN, (DESAI, MORARJI)  
**To:** STATE  
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**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/12276b59-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
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